House of Representatives



General Assembly

File No. 577

January Session, 2017

Substitute House Bill No. 5589

House of Representatives, April 13, 2017

The Committee on Government Administration and Elections reported through REP. FOX of the 148th Dist., Chairperson of the Committee on the part of the House, that the substitute bill ought to pass.

AN ACT CONCERNING CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened:

- 1 Section 1. Subdivision (3) of section 9-601 of the general statutes is
- 2 repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (Effective from
- 3 passage):
- 4 (3) "Political committee" means (A) a committee organized by a
- 5 business entity or organization, (B) persons other than individuals, or
- 6 two or more individuals organized or acting jointly conducting their
- 7 activities in or outside the state, (C) an exploratory committee, (D) a
- 8 committee established by or on behalf of a slate of candidates in a
- 9 primary for the office of justice of the peace, but does not mean a
- 10 candidate committee or a party committee, (E) a legislative caucus
- 11 committee, [or] (F) a legislative leadership committee, or (G) an
- 12 <u>independent expenditure political committee</u>, as defined in section 2 of
- 13 this act.

Sec. 2. (NEW) (*Effective from passage*) As used in chapters 155 and 157 of the general statutes, "independent expenditure political committee" means a political committee that makes only (1) independent expenditures, as defined in section 9-601c of the general statutes, as amended by this act, and (2) contributions to other independent expenditure political committees.

- Sec. 3. Section 9-601c of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
 - (a) (1) As used in this chapter and chapter 157, [the term] "independent expenditure" means an expenditure, as defined in section 9-601b, that is made <u>entirely</u> without the consent, coordination [,] or consultation of [,] a candidate, [or agent of the candidate,] candidate committee, political committee or party committee, or any agent of any such candidate or committee.
 - (2) For purposes of this section, a payment shall not be considered to be made by a person with the consent, coordination or consultation of, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or committee solely on the grounds that such person or the agent of such person engaged in discussion with the candidate, committee or any agent of the candidate or committee regarding such person's position on a legislative or policy matter, including urging the candidate or committee to adopt such person's position, provided any such discussion between such person or the agent of such person and the candidate, committee or any agent of the candidate or committee shall not regard the campaign advertising, message, strategy, policy, polling, fund-raising, campaign operations or allocation of resources of the candidate, committee or such person.
 - (b) As used in this section, (1) "candidate" includes any person who, during an election cycle, becomes a candidate later in such election cycle and benefits from any expenditure (A) made by a coordinated spender, or (B) that is not an independent expenditure, (2) "election cycle" means, with respect to an office to which a person seeks nomination or election, the period beginning the day after the previous

47 regular election for such office and ending the day of the immediately

- 48 following regular election for such office, and (3) "member of the
- 49 family" means (A) the spouse of the candidate, (B) any sibling, parent,
- 50 <u>child, grandparent, grandchild, aunt or uncle of the candidate, (C) any</u>
- 51 sibling, parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, aunt or uncle of the
- 52 spouse of the candidate, or (D) the spouse of any child of any such
- 53 <u>individual described in subparagraph (B) or (C) of this subdivision.</u>
- 54 (c) As used in this section, "coordinated spender" means, with respect to a candidate or committee:
- 56 (1) Any person directly or indirectly formed, controlled or
- 57 established in an election cycle or the one immediately preceding by, at
- 58 the request or suggestion of, or with the encouragement or approval
- 59 of, the candidate, committee or any agent of the candidate or
- 60 committee;
- 61 (2) Except as otherwise provided in this subdivision, any person on
- 62 whose behalf during an election cycle the candidate, committee or any
- agent of the candidate or committee solicits funds or engages in fund-
- 64 raising activity, including by providing to such person the name of any
- 65 potential donor or other list to be used by such person in engaging in
- 66 <u>fund-raising activity regardless of whether such person pays fair</u>
- 67 market value for any such name or list so provided. Such person shall
- 68 <u>not be considered a coordinated spender under this subdivision if any</u>
- 69 <u>funds raised by the candidate, committee or any agent of the candidate</u>
- or committee are (A) segregated from all other accounts controlled by
- 51 such person, and (B) not used to make (i) independent expenditures
- 72 <u>that benefit the candidate or committee, or (ii) contributions or covered</u>
- 73 transfers to any other person who later in such election cycle makes
- 74 independent expenditures, contributions or covered transfers that
- 75 <u>benefit the candidate or committee;</u>
- 76 (3) Any person established, directed or managed by any other
- person, which other person during an election cycle (A) served in such
- 78 <u>election cycle as a political, media or fund-raising advisor or</u>
- 79 consultant for the candidate, committee or any entity controlled by the

80 <u>candidate or committee, or (B) held in such election cycle a formal</u> 81 position with a title for the candidate or committee;

- 82 (4) Any person who is a member of the family of the candidate or 83 who is established, directed or managed by any member of the family 84 of the candidate; or
- (5) Any person or any officer or agent of such person who has had more than incidental discussion with a member of the family of the candidate regarding campaign advertising, message, strategy, policy, polling, fund-raising, campaign operations or allocation of resources of the candidate, committee or such person.
- 90 (d) Any expenditure made by a coordinated spender, as described 91 in subsection (c) of this section, shall be deemed to have been made 92 with the consent, coordination or consultation of the candidate, 93 committee or any agent of the candidate or committee.
 - [(b)] (e) When the State Elections Enforcement Commission evaluates an expenditure, other than an expenditure described in subsection (d) of this section, to determine whether such expenditure is an independent expenditure, there shall be a rebuttable presumption that the following expenditures are not independent expenditures:
 - (1) An expenditure made by a person [in cooperation, consultation or in concert with, at the request, suggestion or direction of, or] pursuant to a general or [particular] tacit understanding with (A) a candidate, candidate committee, political committee or party committee, or (B) a consultant or other agent acting on behalf of a candidate, candidate committee, political committee or party committee;
- 106 (2) An expenditure made by a person for the production, 107 dissemination, distribution or publication, in whole or in substantial 108 part, of any broadcast or any written, graphic or other form of political 109 advertising or campaign communication prepared by (A) a candidate, 110 candidate committee, political committee or party committee, or (B) a

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111 consultant or other agent acting on behalf of a candidate, candidate 112 committee, political committee or party committee;

- (3) An expenditure made by a person based on information about a candidate's, political committee's, or party committee's plans, projects or needs, provided by (A) a candidate, candidate committee, political committee or party committee, or (B) a consultant or other agent acting on behalf of a candidate, candidate committee, political committee or party committee, with the intent that such expenditure be made;
- (4) An expenditure made by an individual who, [in the same] during an election cycle, is serving or has served in such election cycle (A) as the campaign chairperson, treasurer or deputy treasurer of a candidate committee, political committee or party committee benefiting from such expenditure, or (B) in any other executive or policymaking position, including as a member, employee, fundraiser, consultant or other agent, of a candidate, candidate committee, political committee or party committee;
 - (5) An expenditure made by a person or an entity, on or after January first in the year of an election in which a candidate is seeking public office, that benefits such candidate when such person or entity has hired an individual as an employee or consultant and such individual was an employee of or consultant to such candidate, such candidate's candidate committee or such candidate's opponent's candidate committee during [any part of the eighteen-month period preceding such expenditure] an election cycle or the one immediately preceding;
 - (6) An expenditure made by a person for fundraising activities (A) for a candidate, candidate committee, political committee or party committee, or a consultant or other agent acting on behalf of a candidate, candidate committee, political committee or party committee, or (B) for the solicitation or receipt of contributions on behalf of a candidate, candidate committee, political committee or party committee, or a consultant or other agent acting on behalf of a candidate, candidate committee, political committee or party

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(7) An expenditure made by a person based on information about a candidate's campaign plans, projects or needs, that is directly or indirectly provided by a candidate, the candidate's candidate committee, a political committee or a party committee, or a consultant or other agent acting on behalf of such candidate, candidate committee, political committee or party committee, to the person making the expenditure or such person's agent, with an express or tacit understanding that such person is considering making the expenditure;

- (8) An expenditure made by a person for a communication that clearly identifies a candidate during an election campaign, if the person making the expenditure, or such person's agent, has informed the candidate who benefits from the expenditure, [that] such candidate's candidate committee, a political committee or a party committee, or a consultant or other agent acting on behalf of the benefiting candidate or candidate committee, political committee [,] or party committee, concerning the communication's contents, or of the intended audience, timing, location or mode or frequency of dissemination. [As used in] For purposes of this subdivision, a identifies candidate when that communication clearly a communication contains the name, nickname, initials, photograph or drawing of the candidate or an unambiguous reference to [that] such candidate, which includes, but is not limited to, a reference that can only mean [that] such candidate; [and]
- (9) An expenditure made by a person or an entity for consultant or creative services, including, but not limited to, services related to communications strategy or design or campaign strategy or to engage a campaign-related vendor, to be used to promote or oppose a candidate's election to office if the provider of such services is providing or has provided consultant or creative services to such candidate, such candidate's candidate committee or an agent of such candidate committee, or to any opposing candidate's candidate

committee or an agent of such <u>opposing candidate's</u> candidate committee after January first of the year in which the expenditure occurs. For purposes of this subdivision, communications strategy or design does not include the costs of printing or costs for the use of a medium for the purpose of communications. For purposes of this subdivision, campaign-related vendor includes, but is not limited to, a vendor that provides <u>any of</u> the following services: Polling, mail design, mail strategy, political strategy, general campaign advice or telephone banking; [.] <u>and</u>

(10) An expenditure made by a person directly or indirectly formed, controlled or established in an election cycle or the one immediately preceding by, at the request or suggestion of or with the encouragement of any other person deemed to be a coordinated spender or any agent of such coordinated spender, including with the express or tacit approval of any such coordinated spender or agent.

(c) When the State Elections Enforcement Commission evaluates an expenditure to determine whether an expenditure by entity is an independent expenditure, the following shall not be presumed to constitute evidence of consent, coordination or consultation within the meaning of subsection (a) of this section: (1) Participation by a candidate or an agent of the candidate in an event sponsored by the entity, unless such event promotes the success of the candidate's candidacy or the defeat of the candidate's opponent, or unless the event is during the period that is forty-five days prior to the primary for which the candidate is seeking nomination for election or election to office; (2) membership of the candidate or agent of the candidate in the entity, unless the candidate or agent of the candidate holds an executive or policymaking position within the entity after the candidate becomes a candidate; or (3) financial support for, or solicitation or fundraising on behalf of the entity by a candidate or an agent of the candidate, unless the entity has made or obligated to make independent expenditures in support of such candidate in the election or primary for which the candidate is a candidate.]

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[(d)] (f) When the State Elections Enforcement Commission evaluates an expenditure to determine whether such expenditure is an independent expenditure, the commission shall consider, as an effective rebuttal to the presumptions provided in subsection [(b)] (e) of this section, the establishment by the person making the expenditure of a firewall policy designed and implemented to prohibit the flow of information between (1) employees, consultants or other individuals providing services to the person paying for the expenditure, and (2) the candidate or agents of the candidate.

- Sec. 4. Subdivision (1) of subsection (g) of section 9-607 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
- (g) (1) As used in this subsection, (A) "the lawful purposes of the committee" means: (i) For a candidate committee or exploratory committee, the promoting of the nomination or election of the candidate who established the committee, except that after a political party nominates candidates for election to the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor, whose names shall be so placed on the ballot in the election that an elector will cast a single vote for both candidates, as prescribed in section 9-181, a candidate committee established by either such candidate may also promote the election of the other such candidate; (ii) for a political committee, other than an independent expenditure political committee described in subparagraph (A)(iv) of this subdivision, the promoting of (I) a political party, including party building activities, (II) the success or defeat of candidates for nomination [and] or election to public office or position subject to the requirements of this chapter, or (III) the success or defeat of referendum questions, provided a political committee formed for a single referendum question shall not promote the success or defeat of any candidate, and provided further a legislative leadership committee or a legislative caucus committee may expend funds to defray costs for conducting legislative or constituency-related business which are not reimbursed or paid by the state; [and] (iii) for a party committee, the promoting of the party, party building activities, the candidates of the

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party and continuing operating costs of the party; and (iv) for an independent expenditure political committee, the promoting of (I) a political party, (II) the success or defeat of candidates for nomination or election to public office or position subject to the requirements of this chapter, or (III) the success or defeat of referendum questions, provided an independent expenditure political committee shall act entirely independently of a candidate, candidate committee, party committee or political committee that is not an independent expenditure political committee, or any agent of such candidate or committee, and (B) "immediate family" means a spouse or dependent child of a candidate who resides in the candidate's household.

- Sec. 5. Subsection (c) of section 9-608 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
 - (c) (1) Each statement filed under subsection (a), (e) or (f) of this section shall include, but not be limited to: (A) An itemized accounting of each contribution, if any, including the full name and complete address of each contributor and the amount of the contribution. For an independent expenditure political committee, if any contributor to such independent expenditure political committee is a recipient of a covered transfer or transfers amounting to twenty-five thousand dollars or more, in the aggregate, per calendar year, such statement shall include the names of the persons who made the top five largest aggregate covered transfers to such recipient during the twelve-month period immediately preceding a primary, election or referendum, as applicable; (B) an itemized accounting of each expenditure, if any, including the full name and complete address of each payee, including secondary payees whenever the primary or principal payee is known to include charges which the primary payee has already paid or will pay directly to another person, vendor or entity, the amount and the purpose of the expenditure, the candidate supported or opposed by the expenditure, whether the expenditure is made independently of the candidate supported or is an in-kind contribution to the candidate, and a statement of the balance on hand or deficit, as the case may be;

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(C) an itemized accounting of each expense incurred but not paid, provided if the expense is incurred by use of a credit card, the accounting shall include secondary payees, and the amount owed to each such payee; (D) the name and address of any person who is the guarantor of a loan to, or the cosigner of a note with, the candidate on whose behalf the committee was formed, or the treasurer in the case of a party committee or a political committee or who has advanced a security deposit to a telephone company, as defined in section 16-1, for telecommunications service for a committee; (E) for each business entity or person purchasing advertising space in a program for a fundraising affair or on signs at a fund-raising affair, the name and address of the business entity or the name and address of the person, and the amount and aggregate amounts of such purchases; (F) for each individual who contributes in excess of one hundred dollars but not more than one thousand dollars, in the aggregate, to the extent known, the principal occupation of such individual and the name of the individual's employer, if any; (G) for each individual who contributes in excess of one thousand dollars in the aggregate, the principal occupation of such individual and the name of the individual's employer, if any; (H) for each itemized contribution made by a lobbyist, the spouse of a lobbyist or any dependent child of a lobbyist who resides in the lobbyist's household, a statement to that effect; and (I) for each individual who contributes in excess of four hundred dollars in the aggregate to or for the benefit of any candidate's campaign for nomination at a primary or election to the office of chief executive officer or a slate or town committee financing the nomination or election or a candidate for chief executive officer of a town, city or borough, a statement indicating whether the individual or a business with which he is associated has a contract with said municipality that is valued at more than five thousand dollars. Each treasurer shall include in such statement (i) an itemized accounting of the receipts and expenditures relative to any testimonial affair held under the provisions of section 9-609 or any other fund-raising affair, which is referred to in subsection (b) of section 9-601a, and (ii) the date, location and a description of the affair, except that a treasurer shall not

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be required to include the name of any individual who has purchased items at a fund-raising affair or food at a town fair, county fair or similar mass gathering, if the cumulative value of items purchased by such individual does not exceed one hundred dollars, or the name of any individual who has donated food or beverages for a meeting. A treasurer shall not be required to report or retain any receipts or expenditures related to any de minimis donations described in subdivision (17) of subsection (b) of section 9-601a.

(2) Each contributor described in subparagraph (F), (G), (H) or (I) of subdivision (1) of this subsection shall, at the time the contributor makes such a contribution, provide the information that the treasurer is required to include under said subparagraph in the statement filed under subsection (a), (e) or (f) of this section. Notwithstanding any provision of subdivision (2) of section 9-7b, any contributor described in subparagraph (F) of subdivision (1) of this subsection who does not provide such information at the time the contributor makes such a contribution and any treasurer shall not be subject to the provisions of subdivision (2) of section 9-7b. If a treasurer receives a contribution from an individual which separately, or in the aggregate, is in excess of one thousand dollars and the contributor has not provided the information required by said subparagraph (G) or if a treasurer receives a contribution from an individual to or for the benefit of any candidate's campaign for nomination at a primary or election to the office of chief executive officer of a town, city or borough, which separately, or in the aggregate, is in excess of four hundred dollars and the contributor has not provided the information required by said subparagraph (I), the treasurer: (i) Not later than three business days after receiving the contribution, shall send a request for such information to the contributor by certified mail, return receipt requested; (ii) shall not deposit the contribution until the treasurer obtains such information from the contributor, notwithstanding the provisions of section 9-606; and (iii) shall return the contribution to the contributor if the contributor does not provide the required information not later than fourteen days after the treasurer's written request or the end of the reporting period in which the contribution

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was received, whichever is later. Any failure of a contributor to provide the information which the treasurer is required to include under said subparagraph (F) or (H), which results in noncompliance by the treasurer with the provisions of said subparagraph (F) or (H), shall be a complete defense to any action against the treasurer for failure to disclose such information.

(3) In addition to the requirements of subdivision (2) of this subsection, each contributor who makes a contribution to a candidate or exploratory committee for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, State Comptroller, Secretary of the State, State Treasurer, state senator or state representative, any political committee authorized to make contributions to such candidates or committees, and any party committee that separately, or in the aggregate, exceeds fifty dollars shall provide with the contribution: (A) The name of the contributor's employer, if any; (B) the contributor's status as a communicator lobbyist, as defined in section 1-91, a member of the immediate family of a communicator lobbyist, a state contractor, a prospective state contractor or a principal of a state contractor or prospective state contractor, as defined in section 9-612, as amended by this act; and (C) a certification that the contributor is not prohibited from making a contribution to such candidate or committee. The State Elections Enforcement Commission shall prepare a sample form for such certification by the contributor and shall make it available to treasurers and contributors. Such sample form shall include an explanation of the terms "communicator lobbyist", "principal of a state contractor or prospective state contractor", "immediate family", "state contractor" and "prospective state contractor". The information on such sample form shall be included in any written solicitation conducted by any such committee. If a treasurer receives such a contribution and the contributor has not provided such certification, the treasurer shall: (i) Not later than three business days after receiving the contribution, send a request for the certification to the contributor by certified mail, return receipt requested; (ii) not deposit the contribution until the treasurer obtains the certification from the contributor, notwithstanding the provisions of section 9-606; and (iii) return the

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contribution to the contributor if the contributor does not provide the certification not later than fourteen days after the treasurer's written request or at the end of the reporting period in which the contribution was received, whichever is later. No treasurer shall be required to obtain and keep more than one certification from each contributor, unless information certified to by the contributor, other than the amount contributed, changes. If a treasurer deposits a contribution based on a certification that is later determined to be false, the treasurer shall have a complete defense to any action, including, but not limited to, any complaint investigated by the State Elections Enforcement Commission or any other investigation initiated by [said] the commission, against such treasurer for the receipt of such contribution.

(4) In addition to the requirements of subdivision (2) of this subsection, each contributor who is the recipient of any covered transfer and who makes a contribution to an independent expenditure political committee that separately, or in the aggregate, exceeds twenty-five thousand dollars per calendar year shall provide with the contribution a statement signed under penalty of false statement, which statement shall include: (A) If the contributor is a human being, the name of the contributor's employer or employers, if any; (B) the contributor's status as a client lobbyist or communicator lobbyist, as defined in section 1-91, or a member of the immediate family of a communicator lobbyist; (C) a certification that the contributor is not prohibited from making a contribution to the independent expenditure political committee; and (D) if the contributor is not a human being, the names of the five persons who made the top five largest aggregate covered transfers to such recipient during the twelve-month period immediately preceding a primary, election or referendum, as applicable. The State Elections Enforcement Commission shall prepare a sample form for such certification by the contributor and shall make it available to treasurers and contributors. Such sample form shall include an explanation of the term "covered transfer". The information on such sample form shall be included in any written solicitation conducted by such independent expenditure political committee. If a

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treasurer receives a contribution and the contributor has not provided such certification, the treasurer shall: (i) Not later than three business days after receiving the contribution, send a request for the certification to the contributor by certified mail, return receipt requested; (ii) not deposit the contribution until the treasurer obtains the certification from the contributor, notwithstanding the provisions of section 9-606; and (iii) return the contribution to the contributor if the contributor does not provide the certification not later than fourteen days after the treasurer's written request or at the end of the reporting period in which the contribution was received, whichever is later. If a treasurer deposits a contribution based on a certification signed under penalty of false statement that is later determined to be false, the treasurer shall have a complete defense to any action, including, but not limited to, any complaint investigated by the State Elections Enforcement Commission or any other investigation initiated by the commission, against such treasurer for the receipt of such contribution.

[(4)] (5) Contributions from a single individual to a treasurer in the aggregate totaling fifty dollars or less need not be individually identified in the statement, but a sum representing the total amount of all such contributions made by all such individuals during the period to be covered by such statement shall be a separate entry, identified only by the words "total contributions from small contributors".

[(5)] (6) Each statement filed by the treasurer of a party committee, a legislative caucus committee or a legislative leadership committee shall include an itemized accounting of each organization expenditure made by the committee. Concomitant with the filing of any such statement containing an accounting of an organization expenditure made by the committee for the benefit of any candidate for the office of state senator, state representative, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Secretary of the State, State Comptroller or State Treasurer such treasurer shall provide notice of the organization expenditure to the candidate committee of such candidate.

[(6)] (7) The commission shall post a link on the home page of the commission's Internet web site to a listing of all organizational expenditures reported by a party, legislative leadership or caucus committee under subdivision [(5)] (6) of this subsection. Such information shall include reported information on the committee making the expenditure, the committee receiving the expenditure and the date and purpose for the expenditure.

- [(7)] (8) Statements filed in accordance with this section shall remain public records of the state for five years from the date such statements are filed.
- Sec. 6. Subparagraph (C) of subdivision (1) of subsection (e) of section 9-608 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
 - (C) (i) Each political committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of any referendum question, which does not receive contributions from a business entity or an organization, shall distribute its surplus to a party committee, to a political committee organized for ongoing political activities, to a national committee of a political party, to all contributors to the committee on a prorated basis of contribution, to state or municipal governments or agencies or to any organization which is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or any subsequent corresponding internal revenue code of the United States, as from time to time amended. (ii) Each political committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of any referendum question, which receives contributions from a business entity or an organization, and each independent expenditure political committee other than an independent expenditure political committee formed for ongoing political activities, shall distribute its surplus to all contributors to the committee on a prorated basis of contribution, to state or municipal governments or agencies, or to any organization which is tax-exempt under said provisions of the Internal Revenue Code. Notwithstanding the provisions of this subsection, a committee formed for a single

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referendum shall not be required to expend its surplus not later than ninety days after the referendum and may continue in existence if a substantially similar referendum question on the same issue will be submitted to the electorate within six months after the first referendum. If two or more substantially similar referenda on the same issue are submitted to the electorate, each no more than six months apart, the committee shall expend such surplus within ninety days following the date of the last such referendum;

- Sec. 7. Subsection (a) of section 9-612 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
- (a) No individual shall make a contribution or contributions in any one calendar year in excess of ten thousand dollars to the state central committee of any party, or for the benefit of such committee pursuant to its authorization or request; or two thousand dollars to a town committee of any political party, or for the benefit of such committee pursuant to its authorization or request; or two thousand dollars to a legislative caucus committee or legislative leadership committee; [,] or one thousand dollars to any other political committee other than (1) a political committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of a referendum question, (2) an exploratory committee, (3) a political committee established by an organization, or for the benefit of such committee pursuant to its authorization or request, [or] (4) a political committee formed by a slate of candidates in a primary for the office of justice of the peace of the same town, or (5) an independent expenditure political committee.
- Sec. 8. Section 9-613 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
 - (a) [No] Except as provided in subsection (g) of this section, a business entity shall <u>not</u> make any contributions or expenditures (1) to, or for the benefit of, any candidate's campaign (A) for election to any public office or position subject to this chapter, or (B) for nomination at a primary for any such office or position, or (2) to promote the defeat

of any candidate for any such office or position. No business entity shall make any other contributions or [expenditures] engage in coordinated spending, as described in section 9-601c, as amended by this act, to promote the success or defeat of any political party. [, except as provided in subsection (b) of this section. No] A business entity shall not establish more than one political committee. A political committee shall be deemed to have been established by a business entity if the initial disbursement or contribution to the committee is made under subsection (b) of this section or by an officer, director, owner, limited or general partner or holder of stock constituting five per cent or more of the total outstanding stock of any class of the business entity.

- (b) A business entity may make reasonable and necessary transfers or disbursements to $_{z}$ or for the benefit of $_{z}$ a political committee established by such business entity, for the administration of, or solicitation of contributions to, such political committee. Nonmonetary contributions by a business entity which are incidental in nature and are directly attributable to the administration of such political committee shall be exempt from the reporting requirements of this chapter.
- (c) The provisions of this section shall not preclude a business entity from making contributions or expenditures to promote the success or defeat of a referendum question.
- (d) [A] Except as provided in subsection (g) of this section, a political committee organized by a business entity shall not make a contribution or contributions to, or for the benefit of, any candidate's campaign for nomination at a primary or any candidate's campaign for election to the office of: (1) Governor, in excess of five thousand dollars; (2) Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of the State, Treasurer, Comptroller or Attorney General, in excess of three thousand dollars; (3) state senator, probate judge or chief executive officer of a town, city or borough, in excess of one thousand five hundred dollars; (4) state representative, in excess of seven hundred fifty dollars; or (5) any other

office of a municipality not included in subdivision (3) of this subsection, in excess of three hundred seventy-five dollars. The limits imposed by this subsection shall apply separately to primaries and elections, and contributions by any such committee to candidates designated in this subsection shall not exceed one hundred thousand dollars in the aggregate for any single election and primary preliminary thereto. Contributions to such committees shall also be subject to the provisions of section 9-618, as amended by this act, in the case of committees formed for ongoing political activity or section 9-619, as amended by this act, in the case of committees formed for a single election or primary.

- (e) [No] Except as provided in subsection (g) of this section, a political committee organized by a business entity shall <u>not</u> make a contribution or contributions to (1) a state central committee of a political party, in excess of seven thousand five hundred dollars in any calendar year, (2) a town committee of any political party, in excess of one thousand five hundred dollars in any calendar year, (3) an exploratory committee in excess of three hundred seventy-five dollars, or (4) any other kind of political committee, in excess of two thousand dollars in any calendar year.
- (f) As used in this subsection, "investment services" means investment legal services, investment banking services, investment advisory services, underwriting services, financial advisory services or brokerage firm services. No political committee established by a firm which provides investment services and to which the State Treasurer pays compensation, expenses or fees or issues a contract shall make a contribution to, or solicit contributions on behalf of, an exploratory committee or candidate committee established by a candidate for nomination or election to the office of State Treasurer during the term of office of the State Treasurer who does business with such firm.
- (g) (1) Notwithstanding the provisions of [this section, a corporation, cooperative association, limited partnership, professional association, limited liability company or limited liability partnership,

583 whether formed in this state or any other, acting alone, subsections (a)

- 584 <u>to (f), inclusive, of this section, and except as provided in subdivision</u>
- 585 (3) of this subsection, a business entity may make independent
- 586 expenditures and contributions to an independent expenditure
- 587 political committee.
- 588 (2) An independent expenditure political committee, as defined in
- section 2 of this act, organized by a business entity shall not make any
- 590 <u>contribution unless such contribution is to another independent</u>
- 591 <u>expenditure political committee.</u>
- 592 (3) No foreign-influenced entity may make independent
- 593 <u>expenditures or covered transfers.</u>
- Sec. 9. Section 9-614 of the general statutes is repealed and the
- following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
- 596 (a) An organization may make contributions, [or] engage in
- 597 coordinated spending, as described in section 9-601c, as amended by
- 598 this act, and make expenditures, other than [those made to promote]
- 599 <u>for the purpose of promoting</u> the success or defeat of a referendum
- question, only by first forming its own political committee. [The]
- 601 <u>Unless such political committee is an independent expenditure</u>
- 602 <u>political committee, the</u> political committee shall then be authorized to
- 603 (1) receive funds (A) exclusively from the organization's treasury or
- from voluntary contributions made by its members, but not both, (B)
- from another political committee, or [,] (C) from a candidate committee
- 606 distributing a surplus, and [(1) to] (2) make (A) contributions or
- 607 expenditures to, or for the benefit of, a candidate's campaign or a
- 608 political party, or [(2) to make] (B) contributions to another political
- 609 committee. [No] An organization shall not form more than one
- 610 political committee. A political committee shall be deemed to have
- been established by an organization if the initial contribution to the
- 612 committee is made by the organization's treasury or an officer or
- 613 director of the organization.
- (b) A political committee established by an organization may elect

to alter the manner in which it is funded if it complies with the requirements of this subsection. The committee chairperson shall notify the repository with which the committee's most recent statement of organization is filed, in writing, of the committee's intent to alter its manner of funding. [Within] Not later than fifteen days after the date of receipt of such notification, the treasurer of such political committee shall return any funds remaining in the account of the committee to the organization's treasury after payment of each outstanding liability. [Within] Not later than seven days after the distribution and payments have been made, the treasurer shall file a statement with the same repository itemizing each such distribution and payment. Upon such filing, the treasurer may receive voluntary contributions from any member of the organization which established such committee subject to the limitations imposed in subsection (b) of section 9-612.

- (c) The chairperson of each political committee established by an organization on or after July 1, 1985, shall designate the manner in which the committee shall be funded in the committee's statement of organization.
- (d) Notwithstanding the provisions of this section, an organization [, acting alone,] may make independent expenditures and contributions to an independent expenditure political committee.
- Sec. 10. Section 9-615 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
 - (a) [No] A political committee established by an organization shall not make a contribution or contributions to, or for the benefit of, any candidate's campaign for nomination at a primary or for election to the office of: (1) Governor, in excess of five thousand dollars; (2) Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of the State, Treasurer, Comptroller or Attorney General, in excess of three thousand dollars; (3) chief executive officer of a town, city or borough, in excess of one thousand five hundred dollars; (4) state senator or probate judge, in excess of one thousand five hundred dollars; (5) state representative, in excess of seven hundred fifty dollars; or (6) any other office of a municipality

not previously included in this subsection, in excess of three hundred seventy-five dollars.

- (b) [No] <u>Any</u> such committee shall <u>not</u> make a contribution or contributions to, or for the benefit of, an exploratory committee, in excess of three hundred seventy-five dollars. Any such committee may make unlimited contributions to a political committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of a referendum question.
- (c) The limits imposed by subsection (a) of this section shall apply separately to primaries and elections, and no such committee shall make contributions to the candidates designated in this section which in the aggregate exceed fifty thousand dollars for any single election and primary preliminary thereto.
- (d) [No] Except as provided in subsection (f) of this section, a political committee established by an organization shall <u>not</u> make contributions in any one calendar year to, or for the benefit of, (1) the state central committee of a political party, in excess of seven thousand five hundred dollars; (2) a town committee, in excess of one thousand five hundred dollars; or (3) any political committee, other than an exploratory committee or a committee formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of a referendum question, in excess of two thousand dollars.
- (e) Contributions to a political committee established by an organization for the purpose of making contributions and engaging in coordinated spending shall be subject to the provisions of section 9-618, as amended by this act, in the case of a committee formed for ongoing political activity or section 9-619, as amended by this act, in the case of a committee formed for a single election or primary.
- (f) An independent expenditure political committee, as defined in section 2 of this act, established by an organization shall not make any contribution unless such contribution is to another independent expenditure political committee.

Sec. 11. Subsection (a) of section 9-618 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):

- (a) (1) A political committee organized for ongoing political activities may make unlimited contributions to, or for the benefit of, any national committee of a political party [;] or a committee of a candidate for federal or out-of-state office. Except as provided in subdivision (3) of subsection (d) of this section, no such political committee shall make a contribution or contributions in excess of two thousand dollars to another political committee in any calendar year. No political committee organized for ongoing political activities shall make a contribution in excess of three hundred seventy-five dollars to an exploratory committee. If such an ongoing committee is established by an organization or a business entity, its contributions shall be subject to the limits imposed by sections 9-613 to 9-615, inclusive, as amended by this act. A political committee organized for ongoing political activities may make [contributions] donations to a charitable organization which is a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, as from time to time amended, or make memorial [contributions] donations.
- 699 (2) An independent expenditure political committee organized for 700 ongoing political activities shall not make any contribution unless such 701 contribution is to another independent expenditure political 702 committee.
 - Sec. 12. Subsection (a) of section 9-619 of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
 - (a) (1) No political committee established for a single primary or election shall make contributions to a national committee, or a committee of a candidate for federal or out-of-state office. If such a political committee is established by an organization or a business entity, its contributions shall also be subject to the limitations imposed by sections 9-613 to 9-615, inclusive, as amended by this act. Except as

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provided in subdivision (2) of subsection (d) of this section, no political

- 713 committee formed for a single election or primary shall, with respect to
- 714 such election or primary, make a contribution or contributions in
- 715 excess of two thousand dollars to another political committee,
- 716 [provided] except that no such political committee shall make a
- 717 contribution in excess of three hundred seventy-five dollars to an
- 718 exploratory committee.
- 719 (2) An independent expenditure political committee shall not make
- 720 any contribution unless such contribution is to another independent
- 721 <u>expenditure political committee.</u>
- Sec. 13. Section 9-620 of the general statutes is repealed and the
- 723 following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
- 724 (a) A political committee formed solely to aid or promote the
- 725 success or defeat of a referendum question shall not make
- 726 contributions to, or for the benefit of, a party committee, a political
- 727 committee, a national committee, a committee of a candidate for
- 728 federal or out-of-state office or a candidate committee, except in the
- 729 distribution of a surplus, as provided in subsection (e) of section 9-608,
- 730 <u>as amended by this act</u>.
- 731 (b) A political committee formed solely to aid or promote the
- 732 success or defeat of a referendum question shall not receive
- 733 contributions from a national committee or from a committee of a
- 734 candidate for federal or out-of-state office.
- 735 (c) [No] A person, other than an individual or a committee, shall <u>not</u>
- 736 make a contribution to a political committee formed solely to aid or
- 737 promote the success or defeat of a referendum question, or to any
- other person [,] to aid or promote the success or defeat of a referendum
- 739 question, in excess of ten cents for each individual residing in the state
- or political subdivision thereof in which such referendum question is
- to be voted upon, in accordance with the last federal decennial census.
- 742 (d) Notwithstanding any other provision of this section, an

independent expenditure political committee, as defined in section 2 of this act, formed solely to aid or promote the success or defeat of a referendum question shall not make any contribution unless such contribution is made to another independent expenditure political committee.

Sec. 14. (NEW) (Effective from passage) (a) Notwithstanding any provision of the general statutes, the board of governance, if any, for any entity incorporated, organized or operating in this state shall vote for prior authorization for each payment or distribution of money in an amount more than four thousand dollars to be used as a campaign-related disbursement. The board shall be informed of the specific use of the money, including any candidate that might be the target or beneficiary of an independent expenditure, as defined in section 9-601c of the general statutes, as amended by this act, from such campaign-related disbursement prior to any such vote. Individual board member votes and the details of such disbursements shall be disclosed to the public on the entity's Internet web site not later than forty-eight hours after the vote and filed electronically with the State Elections Enforcement Commission under the provisions of section 9-612 of the general statutes, as amended by this act.

(b) Any such entity required to file a statement under section 9-612 of the general statutes, as amended by this act, after making or obligating to make an independent expenditure shall do at least one of the following: (1) If the entity submits regular, periodic reports to its shareholders, members or donors on the entity's finances or activities, include in each such report (A) the identity of the individual making any campaign-related disbursement and the business address of such individual, (B) the amount and date of each such disbursement and the identity of the individual to whom such disbursement was made, (C) the candidate, candidates or ballot issue to which such disbursements are related, and (D) the identity of any individual who made a donation in excess of one thousand dollars to the entity for any campaign-related disbursements made by the entity during the period such report covers; or (2) provide on the entity's Internet web site a

link to the entity's filed disclosure reports under said section 9-612.

Sec. 15. Section 9-601 of the general statutes is amended by adding subdivisions (32) and (33) as follows (*Effective from passage*):

(NEW) (32) "Foreign owner" means (A) a foreign national, as defined in 52 USC 30121(b), as amended from time to time, or (B) an entity of which a foreign national holds, owns, controls or otherwise has directly or indirectly acquired beneficial ownership of equity or voting shares in an amount equal to or greater than fifty per cent of total equity or outstanding voting shares.

(NEW) (33) "Foreign-influenced entity" means any entity of which (A) one foreign owner holds, owns, controls or otherwise has directly or indirectly acquired beneficial ownership of equity or voting shares in an amount equal to or greater than five per cent of total equity or outstanding voting shares, (B) two or more foreign owners hold, own, control or otherwise have directly or indirectly acquired beneficial ownership of equity or voting shares in an amount equal to or greater than twenty per cent of total equity or outstanding voting shares, or (C) any foreign owner participates in any way, directly or indirectly, in the process of making decisions with regard to the political activities of such entity in the United States, including, but not limited to, the political activities of such entity during an election in the state or any town, city, municipality, borough or other unit of local government within the state.

Sec. 16. Subsection (c) of section 9-601d of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):

(c) The independent expenditure long-form report shall identify: (1) The name of the person making or obligating to make such independent expenditure or expenditures; (2) the tax exempt status of such person, if applicable; (3) the mailing address of such person; (4) the principal business address of the person, if different from the mailing address; (5) the address, telephone number and electronic mail

address of the agent for service of process in this state of such person; (6) a certification that, after due inquiry, such person is not a foreigninfluenced entity on the date such independent expenditure or
expenditures were made or obligated to be made, if applicable; (7) the
date of the primary or election for which the independent expenditure
or expenditures were made or obligated to be made; [(7)] (8) the name
of any candidate who was the subject of any independent expenditure
or expenditures and whether the independent expenditure or
expenditures were in support of or in opposition to such candidate;
and [(8)] (9) the name, telephone number and electronic mail address
for the individual filing such report. Such individual filing such report
shall affirm that the expenditure reported is an independent
expenditure under penalty of false statement.

- Sec. 17. Subsection (a) of section 9-601d of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
- 825 (a) Any person, as defined in section 9-601, as amended by this act, 826 may, unless otherwise restricted or prohibited by law, including, but 827 not limited to, any provision of this chapter or chapter 157, (1) make 828 unlimited independent expenditures, as defined in section 9-601c, and 829 (2) accept [unlimited] covered transfers, as defined in said section 9-830 601, provided the amount of any such covered transfer or transfers 831 accepted in any calendar year shall not exceed seventy thousand 832 dollars in the aggregate. Except as provided pursuant to this section, 833 any such person who makes or obligates to make an independent 834 expenditure or expenditures in excess of one thousand dollars, in the 835 aggregate, shall file statements according to the same schedule and in 836 the same manner as is required of a treasurer of a candidate committee 837 pursuant to section 9-608.
- Sec. 18. Subsection (f) of section 9-601d of the general statutes is repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):
- (f) (1) Except as provided in subdivision (2) of this subsection, as

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part of any statement filed pursuant to this section, if a person who makes or obligates to make an independent expenditure (A) has received a covered transfer during the twelve-month period prior to a primary or election, as applicable to the reported expenditure, for an office that a candidate described in subdivision (7) of subsection (c) of this section is seeking, and (B) such independent expenditure is made or obligated to be made on or after the date that is one hundred eighty days prior to such primary or election, such person shall disclose the source and the amount of any such covered transfer such person received that is in an amount that is five thousand dollars or more, in the aggregate, during the twelve-month period prior to such primary or election, as applicable to the reported expenditure.

- (2) The provisions of subdivision (1) of this subsection shall not apply to any person who discloses the source and amount of a covered transfer described in subdivision (1) of this subsection as part of any report to the Federal Election Commission or the Internal Revenue Service, provided such person includes a copy of any such report as part of the report of each applicable independent expenditure pursuant to this section. If a source and amount of a covered transfer is not included as part of any such report, the maker of the expenditure shall disclose the source and amount of such covered transfer pursuant to subdivision (1) of this subsection, if applicable.
- (3) A person disclosing any covered transfer such person received, pursuant to subdivision (1) of this subsection, shall also disclose the source and the amount of any donation, transfer or payment that is equal to or greater than one thousand dollars, in the aggregate, of the funds of such covered transfer.
- (4) (A) If a person makes a covered transfer to the maker of an independent expenditure, including one who obligates to make an independent expenditure, and such person derives all funds of such covered transfer from a dedicated independent expenditure account that is segregated from all other accounts controlled by such person, such person shall provide to such maker of the independent

expenditure the source and the amount of each donation, transfer or payment that is equal to or greater than one thousand dollars, in the aggregate, to such dedicated independent expenditure account. Such maker of the independent expenditure shall include the information so provided under this subdivision with its disclosure of such covered transfer.

- (B) If a person makes a covered transfer to the maker of an independent expenditure, including one who obligates to make an independent expenditure, and such person derives any funds of such covered transfer from any source other than a dedicated independent expenditure account that is segregated from all other accounts controlled by such person, such person shall provide to such maker of the independent expenditure the source and the amount of each donation, transfer or payment to such person that is equal to or greater than one thousand dollars, in the aggregate, during the twelve-month period prior to the primary or election, as applicable to the reported expenditure, for which such independent expenditure is made. Such maker of the independent expenditure shall include the information so provided under this subdivision with its disclosure of such covered transfer.
- (5) (A) A maker of an independent expenditure, including one who obligates to make an independent expenditure, shall not accept a covered transfer unless the information required to be disclosed under subdivision (3) of this subsection or provided under subdivision (4) of this subsection is so disclosed or provided.
- 900 (B) The recipient of a covered transfer shall not knowingly make a covered transfer to the maker of an independent expenditure, 902 including one who obligates to make an independent expenditure, 903 unless the information required to be provided under subdivision (4) of this subsection is so provided.
 - Sec. 19. Subsections (h) to (j), inclusive, of section 9-621 of the general statutes are repealed and the following is substituted in lieu thereof (*Effective from passage*):

(h) (1) No person shall make or incur an independent expenditure for any written, typed or other printed communication, including on a billboard, or any web-based, written communication, unless such communication bears upon its face, as a disclaimer, (A) the words "Paid for by", [and] (B) the name of such person and, if such person is an entity, the name of such entity's chief executive officer or equivalent and such entity's principal business address, and (C) the following statement: "This message was made independent of any candidate or political party.". In the case of a person making or incurring such an independent expenditure during the ninety-day period immediately prior to the primary or election for which the independent expenditure is made, such communication shall also bear upon its face the names of the five persons who made the five largest aggregate covered transfers to the person making such communication during the twelve-month period immediately prior to such primary or election, as applicable. The communication shall also state that additional information about the person making such communication may be found on the State Elections Enforcement Commission's Internet web site.

(2) In addition to the requirements of subdivision (1) of this subsection, and except as provided in this subdivision for an entity, no person shall make or incur an independent expenditure for a video broadcast by television, satellite or Internet, unless at the end of such advertising there appears for a period of not less than four seconds as a disclaimer, the following as an audio message and a written statement: "This message was paid for by (person making the communication) and made independent of any candidate or political party.". If such person is an entity, there shall simultaneously appear at the end of such advertising, for a period of not less than four seconds, (A) a clearly identifiable video, photographic or similar image of such entity's chief executive officer or equivalent, and (B) a personal audio message, in the following form: "I am (name of entity's chief executive officer or equivalent), (title), of (entity). This message was made independent of any candidate or political party, and I approved its content.". In the case of a person making or incurring such an independent expenditure during the ninety-day period

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immediately prior to the primary or election for which the independent expenditure is made, such communication shall also list the names of the five persons who made the five largest aggregate covered transfers to the person making such communication during the twelve-month period immediately prior to such primary or election, as applicable. The communication shall also state that additional information about the person making such communication may be found on the State Elections Enforcement Commission's Internet web site.

(3) In addition to the requirements of subdivision (1) of this subsection, and except as provided in this subdivision for an entity, no person shall make or incur an independent expenditure for an audio communication broadcast by radio, satellite or Internet, unless the advertising ends with a disclaimer that is a personal audio statement by such person's agent or, if such person is an entity, such entity's chief executive officer or equivalent (A) identifying the person paying for the expenditure, and (B) indicating that the message was made independent of any candidate or political party, using the following form: "I am (name of the person's agent), (title), of (the person). This message was made independent of any candidate or political party.". If such person is an entity, the personal audio statement by such entity's chief executive officer or equivalent shall use the following form: "I am (name of entity's chief executive officer or equivalent), (title), of (entity). This message was made independent of any candidate or political party, and I approved its content.". In the case of a person making or incurring such an independent expenditure during the ninety-day period immediately prior to the primary or election for which the independent expenditure is made, such communication shall state the names of the five persons who made the five largest aggregate covered transfers to the person making such communication during the twelve-month period immediately prior to such primary or election, as applicable. The communication shall also state that additional information about the person making such communication may be found on the State Elections Enforcement Commission's Internet web site.

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(4) In addition to the requirements of subdivision (1) of this subsection, no person shall make or incur an independent expenditure for telephone calls, unless the narrative of the telephone call identifies the person making the expenditure and, if such person is an entity, such entity's chief executive officer or equivalent. In the case of a person making or incurring such an independent expenditure during the ninety-day period immediately prior to the primary or election for which the independent expenditure is made, such communication shall state the names of the five persons who made the five largest aggregate covered transfers to the person making such communication during the twelve-month period immediately prior to such primary or election, as applicable. The communication shall also state that additional information about the person making such communication may be found on the State Elections Enforcement Commission's Internet web site.

- (i) In any print, television or social media promotion of a slate of candidates by a party committee, the party committee shall use applicable disclaimers pursuant to the provisions of this section for such promotion, and no individual candidate disclaimers shall be required.
- (j) (1) Except as provided in [subdivisions (2) and (3)] <u>subdivision</u> (2) of this subsection, if any person whose name is included on a disclaimer of a communication pursuant to the provisions of this section, as a person who made a covered transfer to the maker of the communication, is also a recipient of a covered transfer, the maker of the communication, as part of any report filed pursuant to section 9-601d associated with the making of such communication, shall include the names of the five persons who made the top five largest aggregate covered transfers to such recipient during the twelve-month period immediately prior to the primary or election, as applicable.
- [(2) The name of any person who made a covered transfer to a taxexempt organization recognized under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or any subsequent corresponding internal

revenue code of the United States, as amended from time to time, that has not had its tax exempt status revoked, shall not be disclosed pursuant to the provisions of subdivision (1) of this subsection.]

[(3)] (2) The name of any person who made a covered transfer to a person whose name is included on a disclaimer pursuant to the provisions of this section shall not be disclosed pursuant to the provisions of subdivision (1) of this subsection if the recipient of such covered transfer accepts covered transfers from at least one hundred different sources, provided no such source accounts for ten per cent or more of the total amount of covered transfers accepted by the recipient during the twelve-month period immediately prior to the primary or election, as applicable.

This act shall take effect as follows and shall amend the following		
sections:		
Section 1	from passage	9-601(3)
Sec. 2	from passage	New section
Sec. 3	from passage	9-601c
Sec. 4	from passage	9-607(g)(1)
Sec. 5	from passage	9-608(c)
Sec. 6	from passage	9-608(e)(1)(C)
Sec. 7	from passage	9-612(a)
Sec. 8	from passage	9-613
Sec. 9	from passage	9-614
Sec. 10	from passage	9-615
Sec. 11	from passage	9-618(a)
Sec. 12	from passage	9-619(a)
Sec. 13	from passage	9-620
Sec. 14	from passage	New section
Sec. 15	from passage	9-601
Sec. 16	from passage	9-601d(c)
Sec. 17	from passage	9-601d(a)
Sec. 18	from passage	9-601d(f)
Sec. 19	from passage	9-621(h) to (j)

Statement of Legislative Commissioners:

In Section 3(c)(3), "who" was changed to "which other person" for clarity; in Section 3(d), "candidate of committee" was changed to

"candidate or committee" for accuracy; in Section 5(c)(4), "which certification" was changed to "which statement" for consistency; in Section 12(a)(1), "provided no such" was changed to "[provided] except that no such" for accuracy; in Section 13(d), "Notwithstanding this section" was changed to "Notwithstanding any other provision of this section" for clarity; in Section 14(a), "such expenditures" was changed to "such disbursements" for consistency; in Section 14(b), "candidate or candidates or ballot issue" was changed to "candidate, candidates or ballot issue" for clarity; in Section 18(f), subdivisions (4), (5) and (6) were redesignated as subdivisions (4)(A), (4)(B) and (5), respectively, for proper form; and minor technical and conforming changes were made throughout.

GAE Joint Favorable Subst. -LCO

The following Fiscal Impact Statement and Bill Analysis are prepared for the benefit of the members of the General Assembly, solely for purposes of information, summarization and explanation and do not represent the intent of the General Assembly or either chamber thereof for any purpose. In general, fiscal impacts are based upon a variety of informational sources, including the analyst's professional knowledge. Whenever applicable, agency data is consulted as part of the analysis, however final products do not necessarily reflect an assessment from any specific department.

OFA Fiscal Note

State Impact: None

Municipal Impact: None

Explanation

The bill modifies laws affecting campaign finance and elections. The bill (1) prohibits any person from accepting covered transfers greater than \$70,000, in the aggregate, in a calendar year and expands disclosure requirements for these types of transfers, (2) prohibits campaign-related disbursements of more than \$4,000 without preauthorization from the governing boards, (3) prohibits foreign-influenced entities from making covered transfers or independent expenditures (IEs), and (4) expands political advertising disclaimer requirements. Violators of the bill are subject to the State Election Enforcement Commission's (SEEC) enforcement authority.

There is no fiscal impact as SEEC has the necessary expertise to manage the bill's modifications to campaign finance and election laws.

The Out Years

State Impact: None

Municipal Impact: None

OLR Bill Analysis HB 5589

AN ACT CONCERNING CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM.

SUMMARY

This bill modifies laws affecting campaign finance and elections. Principally, it:

- 1. creates a category of spenders called "coordinated spenders" and defines their expenditures as contributions subject to campaign finance reporting and limits;
- codifies "independent expenditure political committees" as a type of political committee (known as a PAC) and requires them to register with the State Elections Enforcement Commission (SEEC);
- 3. prohibits any person from accepting covered transfers of more than \$70,000, in the aggregate, during a calendar year;
- 4. expands covered transfer disclosure requirements;
- 5. requires the governing boards of certain Connecticut entities to vote to pre-authorize campaign-related disbursements of more than \$4,000;
- 6. prohibits foreign-influenced entities from making covered transfers or IEs; and
- 7. expands political advertising disclaimer requirements for entities, generally, to include messaging from the chief executive officer or equivalent.

Violators of the bill's provisions are subject to SEEC's enforcement

authority. Among other things, SEEC may levy civil penalties or refer matters to the chief state's attorney.

The bill also makes several minor, technical, and conforming changes.

EFFECTIVE DATE: Upon passage

§ 3 — INDEPENDENT AND COORDINATED EXPENDITURES

Existing law authorizes persons (including individuals, entities, and committees) to make unlimited IEs. It creates a rebuttable presumption that certain expenditures are not IEs, and thus are coordinated and considered contributions for campaign finance purposes.

The bill:

- 1. creates a new category of spenders called "coordinated spenders";
- 2. establishes their relationship to candidates and committees;
- 3. specifies that their expenditures are coordinated, not independent, and thus are contributions subject to campaign finance limits; and
- 4. modifies the rebuttable presumption.

Definitions

Current law defines "independent expenditure" as an expenditure made without the consent, coordination, or consultation of a (1) candidate or candidate's agent, (2) candidate committee, (3) PAC, or (4) party committee. The bill expands the definition to include agents of the above-listed committees. It also specifies that the expenditure qualifies as an IE when it is made entirely without consent, coordination, or consultation.

The bill specifies that with respect to IEs and coordinated spenders,

"candidate" includes any person who, during an election cycle, later becomes a candidate and who benefits from an expenditure (1) made by a coordinated spender or (2) that is not an IE.

The bill defines "election cycle," with respect to an office to which an individual seeks nomination or election, as the period beginning the day after the previous regular election (for that office) and ending on the day of the regular election (for that office) that immediately follows.

"Member of the family" means the (1) candidate's spouse; (2) sibling, parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, aunt, or uncle of the candidate or the candidate's spouse; or (3) spouse or child of any of these individuals.

Coordinated Spenders

Under the bill, expenditures by coordinated spenders are deemed to be made with the consent, coordination, or consultation of a candidate, committee, or agent of a candidate or committee. By law, "committee" means a candidate or party committee, or a PAC.

Unlike existing law, which creates a rebuttable presumption that certain expenditures are not IEs, coordinated spenders' expenditures are by definition not IEs. Since, by law, expenditures that are not IEs are contributions, coordinated spenders' expenditures are considered contributions.

Under the bill, a "coordinated spender," with respect to a candidate or committee, is a person:

- 1. directly or indirectly formed, controlled, or established in an election cycle or the one immediately preceding it, by, at the request or suggestion of, or with the encouragement or approval of, the candidate, committee, or agent of the candidate or committee;
- 2. established, directed, or managed by any other person who,

during an election cycle, (a) served as a political, media, or fundraising advisor or consultant for the candidate, committee, or any entity directly or indirectly controlled by the candidate or committee or (b) held a formal position, with a title, for the candidate or committee;

- 3. who is a candidate's family member or who is established, directed, or managed by a candidate's family member;
- 4. that has had, or whose officer or agent has had, more than incidental discussion with a candidate's family member about the candidate's, committee's, or person's campaign advertising, message, strategy, policy, polling, fundraising, campaign operations, or resource allocation; or
- 5. on whose behalf the candidate, committee, or agent, during an election cycle, solicits funds or engages in fundraising activities, including providing donor or other lists to assist with fundraising activities, regardless of whether the person pays fair market value for the information.

The bill creates an exception under the last type of coordinated spender listed above. Under the exception, a person is not considered a coordinated spender if funds that the candidate, committee, or agent raises for the person are segregated from other accounts the person controls and not used to make (1) IEs benefitting the candidate or committee or (2) contributions or covered transfers to any other person that, later in the election cycle, makes IEs, contributions, or covered transfers benefitting the candidate or committee.

The bill also specifies that a payment is not considered made by a person with the consent, coordination, or consultation of, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or committee solely on the grounds that the person or person's agent engaged a candidate, committee, or agent of a candidate or committee in discussion about the person's position on a legislative or policy matter. This (1) includes discussions in which the person or agent urges the candidate or

committee to adopt a position, but (2) excludes discussions on campaign advertising, message, strategy, policy, polling, fundraising, resource allocation, or operations.

Rebuttable Presumptions

The law creates a rebuttable presumption that certain expenditures are not IEs and thus, are coordinated and considered contributions for campaign finance purposes. The bill modifies three types of expenditures under the rebuttable presumption and adds another, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Expenditures Not Considered IEs Under The Rebuttable Presumption

Current Law	The Dill
Expenditures made by a person in cooperation, consultation, or concert with; at the request, suggestion, or direction of; or pursuant to a general or particular understanding with a candidate, candidate committee, party committee, PAC, or consultant or agent of a candidate or any such committee Expenditures made by an individual who, during	The Bill Applies instead to expenditures made by a person pursuant to a general or tacit understanding with a candidate, candidate committee, party committee, PAC, or consultant or agent of a candidate or any such committee Adds expenditures by an individual who
an election cycle, serves or has served (1) as the campaign chairperson, treasurer, or deputy treasurer of a candidate committee, PAC, or party committee benefiting from the expenditure or (2) in any other executive or policymaking position, including as a member, employee, fundraiser, consultant, or other agent, of a candidate committee, PAC, or party committee	served as an employee, fundraiser, consultant, or other agent of a candidate
Expenditures made by a person or an entity, on or after January 1 in an election year, that benefit a candidate when (1) the person or entity has hired an individual as an employee or consultant and (2) such individual was an employee of, or consultant to, the candidate's committee or that of his or her opponent during any part of the 18-month period preceding the expenditure	Specifies that the (1) provision also applies to individuals who were employees of, or consultants to, the candidate and (2) applicable time period covers an election cycle or the one preceding it, rather than the 18-month period preceding the expenditure
N/A	Expenditures made by any person directly or indirectly formed, controlled, or established in an election cycle or the one immediately preceding it, by, at the request or suggestion of, or with the encouragement of any other person deemed to be a coordinated spender or coordinated spender's agent, including with the spender's or agent's express or tacit approval

Additionally, the bill eliminates a prohibition on SEEC presuming that certain activities constitute evidence of consent, coordination, or consultation. Generally, they are:

- 1. participation by a candidate or his or her agent in an event that an entity sponsors;
- 2. membership of the candidate or his or her agent in the entity; and
- 3. financial support for, or solicitation or fundraising on behalf of, the entity by a candidate or his or her agent.

§§ 1, 2, 4 & 6-13 — IE-ONLY PACS

The bill codifies "independent expenditure political committees" (known as IE-only PACs) as a type of PAC under Connecticut's campaign finance laws and, like other committees that make IEs, requires their registration with SEEC. It defines them as PACs that make only (1) IEs and (2) contributions to other IE-only PACs.

The bill makes several conforming changes, including specifying that (1) individuals, business entities, and labor unions may make contributions to IE-only PACs and (2) various types of IE-only PACs, such as those formed for a single election or primary, are prohibited from making contributions, other than to other IE-only PACs (see BACKGROUND). It also establishes disclosure requirements for these PACs (see COVERED TRANSFERS below).

Lawful Purposes (§ 4)

The bill defines "lawful purposes of the committee" for IE-only PACs as promoting (1) a political party, (2) the success or defeat of candidates for nomination or election, or (3) the success or defeat of referendum questions. It requires these committees to act entirely independently of any candidate, candidate committee, party committee, PAC (other than an IE-only PAC), or agent of such a candidate or committee.

Surplus Distributions (§ 6)

By law, candidate committees and PACs, other than exploratory committees or PACs organized for ongoing political activities, must generally spend or distribute surplus funds within 90 days after (1) a primary when a candidate loses or (2) March 31 following an election or a referendum held in November.

The bill establishes a surplus distribution procedure for IE-only PACs, other than those formed for ongoing activities. Specifically, it requires them to distribute surplus funds, according to the schedule outlined above, to (1) their contributors, on a prorated basis; (2) state or municipal governments or agencies; or (3) tax-exempt organizations.

§§ 5, 17 & 18 — COVERED TRANSFERS

By law, a person must disclose information about IEs it makes that exceed \$1,000 in the aggregate. Among other things, the person must disclose the source and amount of any covered transfer of \$5,000 or more, in the aggregate, it received during the 12 months before the applicable primary or election if the IE (for which the report is being filed) is made or obligated to be made 180 or fewer days before the primary or election.

The bill (1) expands the covered transfer-related information that IE-makers must disclose and (2) limits the amount of covered transfers a person may accept.

By law, a "covered transfer" is, with certain exceptions, any donation, transfer, or payment of funds by a person to a recipient that (1) makes IEs or (2) transfers funds to another person who makes IEs (CGS § 9-601(29)). A "person" is an individual, committee, firm, partnership, organization, association, syndicate, company trust, corporation, limited liability company, or any other legal entity (other than the state or its political or administrative subdivisions) (CGS § 9-601(10).

Limit on Acceptance (§ 17)

The bill prohibits any person from accepting covered transfers of

more than \$70,000 in the aggregate during a calendar year. Under current law, a person may accept unlimited covered transfers. (It appears that limiting covered transfers may conflict with recent federal court decisions (see BACKGROUND).)

Disclosures by Persons Making IEs (§ 18)

Under existing law, persons must disclose information about IEs they make that exceed \$1,000 in the aggregate using SEEC's long- and short-form reports (see BACKGROUND), including information about covered transfers, as described above. Under the bill, the IE-maker must obtain and disclose additional information about the money funding any such covered transfer.

Specifically, the bill requires IE-makers to disclose the source and amount of any donation, transfer, or payment of \$1,000 or more, in the aggregate, that funded a covered transfer it reports to SEEC in a long-or short-form report, as described below.

Dedicated Accounts. A person that makes a covered transfer to an IE-maker from a dedicated and segregated IE-expenditure account must provide the source and amount of each donation, transfer, or payment of \$1,000 or more, in the aggregate, to the account. The IE-maker (including one who obligates to make an IE) must include the information with its covered transfer disclosure.

Other Accounts. A person that makes a covered transfer from a source other than a dedicated IE-expenditure account must provide the source and amount of each donation, transfer, or payment of \$1,000 or more, in the aggregate, to the person during the 12 months before the primary or election, whichever applies, for which the IE is made. The IE-maker (including one who obligates to make an IE) must include the information with its covered transfer disclosure.

In addition to these requirements, the bill prohibits (1) covered transfer recipients from knowingly making a covered transfer to an IE-maker without disclosing the information described above and (2) IE-makers from accepting a covered transfer unless such information is

disclosed.

Disclosures by IE-Only PACs (§ 5)

Under the bill, an IE-only PAC must include additional information in its campaign finance statements if any of its contributors are recipients of covered transfers of \$25,000 or more in the aggregate per calendar year. (The requirement appears to apply to any previous calendar year.) Specifically, it must include the names of the persons that made the top-five largest aggregate covered transfers to any such contributor during the 12-month period immediately preceding the primary, election, or referendum.

Similarly, each contributor must provide the IE-only PAC with a statement, signed under penalty of false statement, if the contributor (1) receives any covered transfer and (2) makes contributions to an IE-only PAC that separately, or in the aggregate, exceed \$25,000 per calendar year.

The statement must certify:

- 1. if the contributor is a human being, the name of his or her employer or employers, if any;
- 2. whether the contributor is a client or communicator lobbyist, or an immediate family member of one, under the State Code of Ethics;
- 3. that the contributor is not prohibited from making a contribution to the IE-only PAC; and
- 4. if the contributor is not a human being, the names of the five persons that made the top-five largest aggregate covered transfers to it during the 12-month period immediately preceding the applicable primary, election, or referendum.

The bill requires SEEC to prepare a sample form for the above certification and make it available to treasurers and contributors. The sample form must explain the term "covered transfer." IE-only PACs

must include the sample form's information in any written solicitation they conduct.

A treasurer who receives a contribution without the certification must (1) send a request for the certification, within three business days after receiving the contribution, to the contributor by certified mail, return receipt requested and (2) refrain from depositing the contribution until obtaining the certification. If the contributor still does not provide the certification, the treasurer must return the contribution at the end of the reporting period in which it was received or within 14 days after the treasurer's written request, whichever is later.

The bill provides treasurers a complete defense to any action taken against them, including an investigation by SEEC, concerning a contribution they deposit based on a signed certification that is later determined to be false.

§ 14-16 & 19 — ENTITIES

The bill makes various changes affecting "entities," which, by law, are organizations, profit and nonprofit corporations, cooperative associations, limited partnerships, professional associations, limited liability companies and partnerships, 501(c) tax-exempt organizations, and 527 tax-exempt political organizations (CGS § 9-601(19)).

Board Authorizations for Campaign-Related Disbursements (§ 14)

The bill requires the governing board, if any, of an entity incorporated, organized, or operating in Connecticut to vote to preauthorize each campaign-related disbursement it makes of more than \$4,000. The bill does not define "campaign-related disbursement."

Prior to the vote, the board must be informed of the money's specific use, including whether it may be used for an IE to target or benefit a candidate. No later than 48 hours after the vote, the entity must (1) publicly disclose on its website individual board members' votes and details on the expenditure and (2) electronically file a disclosure report with SEEC. (The bill contains an incorrect internal reference and thus,

it is unclear which reporting requirements apply.)

After making or obligating to make an IE, the entity must do at least one of the following:

- 1. include in any periodic financial or activity report to its shareholders, members, or donors the (a) identity of the individual making any campaign-related disbursement and his or her business address; (b) disbursement's amount, date, and recipient; (c) candidates or ballot issues to which the disbursement is related; and (d) identity of individuals who donated over \$1,000 to the entity for campaign-related disbursements during the period that the report covers or
- 2. provide a link on its website to the disclosure reports it has filed with SEEC.

Foreign-Influenced Entities (§§ 8, 15 & 16)

Federal law generally prohibits foreign nationals from making contributions, donations, or IEs in connection with federal, state, or local elections (see BACKGROUND). The bill additionally prohibits foreign-influenced entities from making covered transfers or IEs. It makes a conforming change by requiring persons that make IEs to certify, after due inquiry, in the long-form campaign finance reports they submit to SEEC that they are not foreign-influenced business entities as of the date they made or obligated to make the IE (see BACKGROUND).

Under the bill, a "foreign-influenced entity" means an entity that:

- 1. one foreign owner holds, owns, controls, or has directly or indirectly acquired beneficial ownership of equity or voting shares of at least 5% of the total equity or outstanding voting shares;
- 2. two or more foreign owners hold, own, control, or have directly or indirectly acquired beneficial ownership of equity or voting

shares of at least 20% of the total equity or outstanding voting shares; or

3. any foreign owner participates in any way, directly or indirectly, in the process of making decisions with regard to the entity's political activities in the United States, including its political activities during an election in the state or any town, city, municipality, borough or other local government unit within the state.

A "foreign owner" is a (1) foreign national, as defined in federal law, or (2) business entity of which a foreign national holds, owns, controls, or otherwise has directly or indirectly acquired beneficial ownership of equity or voting shares of at least 50% of the total equity or outstanding voting shares (see BACKGROUND).

Political Advertising (§ 19)

By law, printed, video, and audio political advertisements must include certain attributions, known as "disclaimers." Among other things, they must identify the person making the expenditure and indicate that additional information is available on SEEC's website. For IEs made during the 90 days before a primary or election, they must disclose names of the five persons that made the five largest aggregate covered transfers to the person making the communication during the 12 months immediately preceding the applicable primary or election.

The bill expands the disclaimer requirements for entities, as shown in Table 3.

Type of Advertisement for Which IE Is Made	New Information Required Under the Bill
Written communication, including one that is typed, on a billboard, printed, or web-based	The name of the entity's chief executive officer, or equivalent, and principal business address
Video advertising broadcast by television, Internet, or satellite	The end of the advertisement must air, for at least four seconds, (1) a clearly identifiable video, photographic, or similar image of the chief executive officer or equivalent and (2) the

Table 3: Expanded Disclaimer Requirements for IEs by Entities

	following personal audio message: "I am (name of entity's chief executive officer or equivalent), (title) of (entity). This message was made independent of any candidate or political party, and I approved its content."
Audio advertising broadcast by radio, Internet, or satellite	The end of the advertisement must air the following personal audio message: "I am (name of entity's chief executive officer or equivalent), (title) of (entity). This message was made independent of any candidate or political party, and I approved its content."
Telephone calls (including Robo calls)	The narrative of the telephone call must identify the entity's chief executive officer or equivalent.

The bill also eliminates a provision in current law prohibiting disclaimers from disclosing the name of any person that made a covered transfer to a 501(c)(4) organization if the organization is a top five transferor. Under federal law, these organizations are not required to publicly disclose their donors.

BACKGROUND

IE-Only PACs

In Declaratory Ruling 2013-02, SEEC ruled that, in light of a line of cases ruling that contribution limits to IE-Only PACS are unconstitutional, it would no longer enforce contribution limits to PACs that receive and spend funds only for IEs, unless it received further guidance from the legislature or a court.

Limit on Covered Transfers

In New York Progress and Protection PAC (NYPPP) v. Walsh, et al., 733 F.3d 483 (2013), the Second Circuit Court of Appeals found that a New York law limiting political contributions to an independent expenditure political committee violated NYPPP's First Amendment right to political speech. Relying on several other circuit court decisions, the court stated that because the government has no anticorruption interest in limiting independent expenditures, it follows that "a donor to an independent expenditure committee such as NYPPP is even further removed from political candidates and may not be limited in his ability to contribute to such committees."

IE Reporting

By law, persons must disclose information about IEs they make that exceed \$1,000 in the aggregate. A person must file a long-form report, as well as a short-form report, after first making or obligating to make an IE during a primary or general election campaign that promotes the success or defeat of a statewide office or legislative candidate. For any subsequent IE, a person must file only the short-form report. Both reports must be filed with SEEC electronically within 24 hours after making or obligating to make an IE.

"Foreign Nationals" and Related Federal Law

Foreign Nationals. Federal law defines a "foreign national" as any of the following:

- 1. a government of a foreign country and a foreign political party;
- 2. a person outside of the United States, unless it is established that the person is (a) an individual and a U.S. citizen domiciled within the United States or (b) not an individual, has its principal place of business in the United States, and is organized under, or created by, the United States, a state, or other place subject to U.S. jurisdiction;
- 3. a partnership, association, corporation, organization, or other combination of persons organized under the laws of, or having its principal place of business in, a foreign country; or
- 4. an individual who is not a U.S. citizen or national, and who is not lawfully admitted for permanent residence (52 U.S.C. § 30121 and 22 U.S.C. § 611(b)).

Prohibited Activities. Federal law prohibits a foreign national from, among other things, directly or indirectly making:

1. in connection with a federal, state, or local election, a contribution or donation of money or anything of value; an express or implied promise to make a contribution or donation; or an expenditure or

IE or

2. a contribution or donation to a federal, state, or local political party's committee.

It similarly prohibits a person from soliciting, accepting, or receiving any contribution or donation described above from a foreign national (52 U.S.C. § 30121 and 11 C.F.R. § 110.20).

Related Bills

SB 582, reported favorably by the House Government Administration and Elections (GAE) Committee, contains the same provisions on foreign-influenced entities (except that it uses the term "foreign-influenced business entities") and covered transfers of more than \$70,000.

sSB 934, reported favorably by the GAE Committee, also modifies campaign finance laws and contains provisions expanding political advertising disclosure requirements.

COMMITTEE ACTION

Government Administration and Elections Committee

Joint Favorable Yea 9 Nay 8 (03/27/2017)